DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 066 532 UD 012 866

AUTHOR	Ruchkin, Judith P.; Gordon, Edmund W.
TITLE	Expanding Opportunities in Higher Education: Some Trends and Countertrends; Access to Higher Education. IRCD Bulletin, Volume 8, Number 1, February 1972.
INSTITUTION	Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. ERIC Clearinghouse on the Urban Disadvantaged.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Feb 72
NOTE	12p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Admission Criteria; College Entrance Examinations; Compensatory Education; *Educational Change; *Educational Opportunities; Financial Support; Graduate Study; *Higher Education; *Negro Colleges; *Negro Education; Political Issues; Racial Discrimination; Student Costs; Supreme Court Litigation

ABSTRACT

The first of two articles, "Some trends and countertrends," is a retrospective analysis of both the trends that have supported expanded higher educational opportunities and of intervening issues that have interfered with the inherently expansionist trends. A subtle but crucial distinction is made between trends towards expanded opportunities in employment, housing, and education in the context of legal and mass demonstrations extending the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment to a wider segment of the citizenry; and trends toward an inherently educational response stemming from academic momentum and commitment to the training of an enlarged and more diversified student population. This suggests an examination of those trends that have supported expansion of higher educational opportunities as well as those that ran counter more by virtue of alternate emphases and commitments than any direct opposition. The second article, "Access to higher education," examines some of the political and social factors involved in expanding opportunities for higher education. Among these factors are: the role of the black college: the assasination of Martin Luther King; Supreme Court litigation; discriminatory systems of secondary and elementary education, especially with respect to tracking; and, the development of scholarship programs. (JM)

ED 066532

IRCD BULLETIN

PUBLICATION OF THE ERIC INFORMATION RETRIEVAL CENTER ON THE DISADVANTAGED

Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute • Teachers College • Columbia University
525 West 120 Street, N. Y., N. Y. 10027

Volume VIII, No. 1 February 1972

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UD 012866

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Cover Painting: Detail from "Wanted Poster Series, No. 5" is by Charles White. From Wanted Poster Series, published by Heritage Gallery, Los Angeles, 1970.

EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION: SOME TRENDS AND COUNTERTRENDS

By

Judith P. Ruchkin
University of Maryland

That financial difficulties again plague institutions of higher education in the early nineteen-seventies is quite readily apparent. Coming atop the previous turbulent decade of student protests, scarcity of material resources signals danger to the academic community generally, and to the newest additions to its clientele composed of black, Spanish-speaking and other minority group representatives, particularly. Not surprisingly, this expansion of higher educational opportunity, which has recently been undergirded by a variety of special support efforts is threatened by currently strained academic finances. However, if curtailed rather than widening opportunities become the reality of the future, this will constitute another historical irony, if not an outright denial of 20th Century trends, which have seen post secondary schooling expand from less than 2% of the relevant age (18-21 years old) population a hundred years ago to 50% of that age group at present.

That blacks, and other minorities - economic and ethnic - did not enjoy a proportionate share of this phenomenal expansion is one of the festering sores of our democratic society. Not only have there been a host of racist practices amounting to systematic and statutory denial of equality of higher educational opportunity as recently as the 1960's, but the entire program of expanding opportunities for minorities has been cast in the civil rights context rather than perceived as steady progress on the higher educational front.

The distinction is somewhat subtle, between expanded opportunities in employment, housing, education in the context of legal and mass demonstrations extending the protection of the 14th Amendment to a wider segment of the citizenry, and an inherently educational response stemming from academic momentum and commitment to the training of an enlarged and more diversified student population. The distinction between these two recently allied forces is important both conceptually and practically. If expansion is primarily cast in the civil rights context, any curtailment or diminution in these efforts - readily observed in the public school context already - will be felt not just in the elimination of legal barriers, but also in the support granted to special support programs which assist students trying to bridge the gap engendered or at least exacerbated by prior societal and institutional inequalities.[1] But, if expanded opportunities are viewed as inherently academic, as part of a unique American higher educational response, the implications for financial and institutional support may become far more positive - albeit still dependent upon a shrinking economic base.

Given both Jeffersonian and Jacksonian traditions in the development of American higher education, it is curious that expansion of post-secondary opportunities has not immediately been seen as part of the trend toward universal education. Possibly, the more immediate context of the struggle for equality of opportunity in other realms of American life has overshadowed the more distant historic trends supporting such efforts in the educational sphere. Whether relative inattention to American academic tradition explains this confusion, or whether it is tainted by racism, pervading other aspects of national life, cannot readily be assessed. However, it is possible to examine those trends that supported expansion of higher educational opportunities as well as those that ran counter more by virtue of alternate emphases and commitments than any direct opposition. This retrospective analysis will, therefore, first, concentrate upon the trends that have supported expanded opportunities and secondly, upon those intervening issues that have cast their shadow on the academic scene, thus encouraging easy forgetting of these inherently expansionist trends.

The period starting with the colonial era to the Civil War has many currently instructive aspects: gradual changes in the classical curriculum, parallel preparation for several vocations, tensions between sectarian and secular interests as well as some parallel private and public institutional development dependent upon mutual support of both segments regardless of actual institutional control.[2] Not only did the early 19th Century American colleges see student unrest and physical violence against faculty and presidents, but this era of discontent - to some extent attributed to dismay over dietary matters - ran concurrent with examination and reform of curricula. With some present day implications, it may be noted that the influential Yale Report of 1828 reaffirming the classical curriculum and theory of learning was issued at a time of considerable local turmoil and protest. But New Haven remained staunchly true (as befits blue) to the classics while those elsewhere and further north, in "the other place," effected some curricular changes and reforms on the eve of the era of the common man.[3]

But the pre-Civil War era contained ambiguities and contradictions for higher education. While some knowledge was deemed necessary for a few, especially in the old established professions, learning and scholarship were generally suspect and universal admiration was reserved for individual achievement without reference to parentage or education. Even before the Jacksonian era, the Jeffersonian ideals of a

[1] Egerton, John. "High Risk, Five Looks," **Southern Education Report**, April, 1968.

[2] Rudolph, Frederick. **The American College and University**, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962, p. 59.

[3] Brubacher, J.S., and W. Rudy. **Higher Education in Transition**, New York: Harper Brothers, 1958, p. 53.

national aristocracy of talent and reason were designed to be balanced by public control and rotating the presidency among the faculty as befitted a Federalist. Thus, some degree of elitism and egalitarianism have characterized early collegiate life and continue to do so at present although expressed in different form.

The seeming infinite variety of the collegiate scene, as well as its built-in local contradictions, can also be observed from the essentially rural development taken by these institutions in a very large portion of the country. Where religious differences did not require a new institution, local pride or entrepreneurship did. Yet, despite the strong sectarian traditions of many of the early colleges, religious tests were never imposed, unlike at Oxford and Cambridge, where they continued in effect until a hundred years ago.[4] While the variety of such institutions deserves note, it may also be useful to recall that these pre-Civil War institutions did not resemble universities in the prevailing European, or contemporary American sense, as much as collegiate preparatory schools.[5]

But the geographic spread and early dominance of the colonial institutions, especially in the East, cast a long shadow in the post-Civil War period especially with respect to the development of the land-grant institutions supported by the two Morrill Acts and subsequent Federal legislation. The speedier development of the state universities in areas not already possessed of established private institutions made for an equalitarian trend in higher education even if degrees from the so-called "cow" schools were not always highly esteemed.

But, from the vantage point of disfranchised rural southern blacks, there was a statutory barrier erected to attendance at these publicly supported institutions. In fact, the separate institutions largely concentrated in the south were created to train the newly liberated slaves against whom a host of new societal barriers were erected.

The black citizen seeking educational and other advancement faced a double disadvantage. Barred from the more generously endowed state supported institutions of the south with an avowed community service and agricultural and mechancial extension program, those who came north seeking greater opportunities found themselves in the land of the colonial classical academic preserve now gradually infused with Germanic university traditions, science, sports, clubs and other extra-curricular embellishments. These institutions took pride in their unique and distinctive characteristics and did not view their mission as directly extending popular services, either agrarian or urban. The settlement house efforts at the University of Chicago and elsewhere during the Progressive era of societal reform came closest to establishing a tradition for urban service,[6] but these were singular individual - at best departmental - efforts rather than total institutional service commitments. The classical curriculum - although altered by the elective system - was still present; the collegiate way - modeled upon English residential patterns - was very much on the upswing and a kind of democratization - including the rich as well as the well-born and patrician-connected - did occur with a small percentage of the deserving, talented, needy receiving scholarship and other support to enable them to partake in higher education.

But, the tradition of these early institutions have not included community service but rather a broad, universal scholarly orientation. Attention to local needs had not been paramount while scientists explored the atom and cathode ray tubes, while poets and philosophers sought both uniquely American expressions and ideologies and transplanted and grafted traditions from abroad and while historians and psychologists probed national character and human growth. Whether these institutions, without a long-term tradition of local, community service, can and will be able to become new urban grant universities, as is frequently advocated out of a tripartite public, institutional and individual necessity, remains to be seen. Furthermore, some areas of expertise lend themselves far more to the amelioration and improvement of urban life than others and have a body of knowledge at least partially adequate to particular, defined problems and are also organized for purposes of instruction.

But it remains one of the many disadvantages facing urban blacks that there was no well-established tradition of community service in the major northern urban centers where they congregated in search of better opportunities. In the south where the community service tradition of the land-grant system has been strong, deeply ingrained practices supporting inequality between the races have until recently served to bar blacks from this potential avenue for individual and social betterment. Although return to the south for better educational opportunity has been practiced by many who sought and continue to seek training at the predominantly black institutions, both this small group of colleges - facing many crises - and the community service directed state universities rather than the Germanic scholarly oriented institutions of the north and east deserve long-term scrutiny in this new phase of expanding higher educational opportunities.

It would be unfortunate if due to these negative associations and to prior institutional reputation of some state universities, their actual historic utility and mission would not be fully engaged in the current effort to extend educational opportunities. For as a noted American historian has observed:

> **Nothing in our educational history is more striking than the steady pressure of democracy upon its universities to adapt them to the requirements of all the people.** [7]

While the same phenomenon can be viewed differently depending upon individual perspectives: Americans are renowned for being the best half-educated people in the world,[8] or as a young Englishman observed in the 1930's:

> **The best point about the American college is that it is popular. The worst point about it is the same one.** [9]

[4]Brubacher and Rudy, op.cit., p. 173.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Rudolph, op.cit., p. 368.

[7]Turner, Frederick Jackson. **The Frontier in American History**, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920, p. 283.

[8]Brubacher and Rudy, op.cit., p. 256.

[9]Rudolph, op.cit., p. 443.

From the Civil War to the era beginning after World War II, American higher education encompassed a bewildering mix and array of programs and student options perhaps even exceeding the diversity of its enrollment. Concurrent with the establishment of the common high school and the scientific and foreign university influences, the era of higher education really began. While initially many colleges and universities conducted their own preparatory departments, the differentiated and upward extending common school gradually preempted this collegiate function, which might again bear exploration in the current era.

The new university offered something for nearly everyone. Bearing in mind the growing industrial as well as agricultural society, the university became an institution with preparatory programs for the newly emerging professions and vocations as well as for the older professions, which it had previously served. The training of secondary school teachers became a collegiate or university undertaking in this era, which also saw advances in nursing, engineering, accounting and a host of business related programs. But the expansiveness had its exaggeration especially in curricular offerings which made it possible for students to take courses in early Irish, creative thinking, American English, first aid, advanced clothing, ice cream and ices, third-year Czechoslovakian, football, sewerage, and a man's problem in the modern home.[10] Such offerings were the University of Nebraska's response to the vastly expanding college population and while they may have represented an extreme, they constitute a warning for the present as well.

Not only were there a great variety of courses, but there were options for students to complete the undergraduate sequence in three or more years and a number of new institutions, or new sub-units, fostering student decision-making and control over significant portions of academic life became available especially to those attending such select institutions as Sarah Lawrence, Bard, Bennington and Black Mountain colleges. That quality would co-exist with quantity on the same campus was demonstrated by the parallel operation of both a University and a General College at the University of Minnesota, which again may offer a useful prototype for the current era, although it may need careful design to avoid internal institutional segregation and instead actively foster ready interchanges among students pursuing diverse curricula.

The post-World War II era saw the arrival of more than three-and-a-half million veterans on the nation's campuses and even more recently a vast expansion in two-year community colleges - which constitutes a uniquely American educational phenomenon.

But this recent period also saw a number of counter-trends - some of which had been felt earlier - which may in part explain why the expansion in the current era has appeared so novel to many.

Not only have there been recurrent fiscal crises: perennially low faculty salaries, scarcity of space to accommodate students, but there has been concern over possible oversupply of talent and the creation of potentially unemployed intellectuals and the subversion of the talented few among the undifferentiated masses.[11] While the first two post-war decades seemed to belie such pessimistic predictions, the current scene no longer permits ignoring such warnings.

The longer term and more obvious countervening trends have stemmed from clarification of institutional purpose and mission in simultaneously offering programs for the elite and masses. There has also been a need to distinguish between liberal arts and professional training, both having been included on the academic scene, but by no means equally at all institutions. Questions of curriculum design and institutional identity were cast aside as the nation's energies were engaged in a massive war and post-war effort, and a number of private and governmental commissions advocated widening higher educational opportunities of some sort for half of the nation's youth.

However, the issues that had been awaiting response were brought to a head by the Russian space achievement marked by Sputnik. Tightening of standards and examination of programs ensued both in the collegiate and public school domain. Furthermore, federal fiscal resources began to be committed to developing scientific talent and graduate programs with a view toward matching or even exceeding these accomplishments. Not only did these foreign influences engage - really re-engage - the scientific, elitist elements on the academic scene, but the same international rivalry brought forth another intervening force. Although cast in something of a populist stance and drawing upon the dormant suspicions of those adult Americans, who did not themselves attend college although their sons and daughters were soon to do so, the late Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin let loose a barrage of criticism involving patriotic, as well as scholarly, integrity of a sufficient number of prominent academics so as to taint much, if not all, of the American university community with charges of communism and national betrayal. Thus, the decade of the fifties became not an era of institutional expansion but an era of institutional defense as the onslaughts from without were warded off in some cases, and yielded to elsewhere. Clarification of institutional identity, search for excellence and eminence and the preservation of academic freedom were the intervening trends on the recent agenda. Thus, when the accomplishments of the civil rights effort in education - actually began in the 1950's - finally began to bear noticeable results and eliminate barriers to equality of higher educational opportunity, this expansion was viewed as part of a legal rather than an inherently educational democratization.

[10]Rudolph, op.cit., p. 442.

[11]Henderson, Algo D. **Policies and Practices in Higher Education**, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960, pp. 57-65.

[12]Ruchkin, Judith P. "Selected Issues in Collegiate Compensatory Programs" in A. Harry Passow (ed.), **Opening Opportunities for the Disadvantaged,**

Yet, it is important to view the past accurately so as to perceive - even if not necessarily avoid - potential pitfalls and thus a more complete account does offer some suggestions to those charged with guiding and designing the more recent commitment to expanding higher educational opportunities.

While the elective principles espoused by President Eliot have gained renewed currency and the life experience emphasis of the progressives is again widely advocated, it might be desirable to do more than merely and unknowingly repeat the past and move forward from these earlier educational efforts. The awesome complexities of modern existence, the requirements for technological and other specialized competencies make general, humanistic education more urgent than ever before. The prolification of knowledge and its organizational framework require a far more broadly educated citizenry to insure individual freedom.

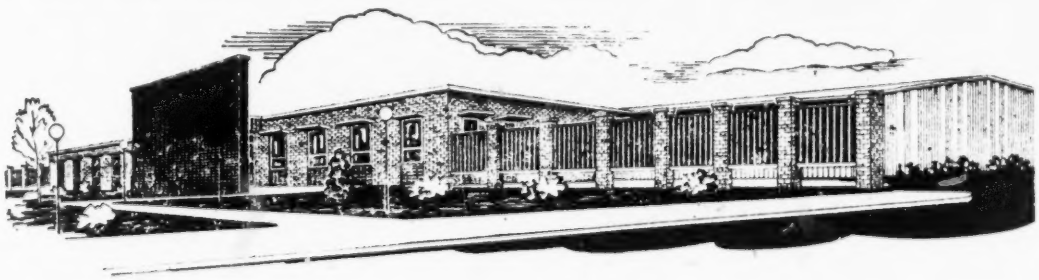
Thus, both the explicit training, as well as the implicit curriculum and structure, need to provide a consistent pattern for future individual and intergroup understanding and shared responsibilities in societal functioning.

If ever there is an era when the fundamental underpinnings of the social order are in question, it is, of course, the present. Whatever the accommodation, however stressfully gained, it appears reasonably certain that educational institutions - rather than the earlier preservers of the social order - will continue to be called upon to provide the social cement necessary for a minimum of cohesion.

This is a new post-World War II mission of college and university life - beyond piety, scholarship and service - and is not yet widely recognized in the controversies surrounding full opportunity and open enrollment programs, which also entail a host of subsidiary issues relating to the most effective education of the largest possible number of the nation's citizens.[12] But, if the societal requirement for a common bonding mechanism is recognized, the irrationalities and irrelevancies of the current academic scene do make somewhat more sense. Quite clearly, higher education performs a societal sorting function and a training one as well, in those areas where a codified body of knowledge suitable for instruction exists. However, this leaves a sizeable array of institutions and programs, and an even more extensive student clientele, engaging in academic rituals. While it is possible to view these efforts as rites of passage in a society no longer certain of its course, or momentum, embedded in these experiences are both direct and indirect opportunities for social bonding, which deserve specific attention. If the latent function of providing food preparation curricula for some, while others pursue mathematical problems and philosophical issues is recognized, and opportunities are provided for interaction on a common footing via the basic, general curriculum, new social issues seminars for all students, as well as the host of extra-curricular and co-curricular activities, social bonding may thus be furthered rather than reduced. Those charged with collegiate curriculum design need to be specially watchful of the trends for early specialization and intra-institutional sub-group formation. What means will prove effective in social bonding as in the preparation of disadvantaged college students remain to be explored. However, wide spread and diverse institutional practices across the nation may permit natural comparisons of effective approaches rather than requiring controlled experimental efforts.

Prophets of doom may scoff at such ameliorative attempts coming at a time when most - if not all - social institutions, including colleges and universities, are undergoing serious internal and external scrutiny. But, efforts at social bonding appear much in keeping with both the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian elements embedded in the history of American higher education.

[12] Ruchkin, Judith P. "Selected Issues in Collegiate Compensatory Programs" in A. Henry Passow (ed.), Opening Opportunities for the Disadvantaged. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972, pp. 241-259.



Dr. Judith P. Ruchkin is Associate Director, Office of Laboratory Experiences and Assistant Professor, Secondary Education University of Maryland at College Park, Degree: Ed. D., Teachers College

ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Edmund W. Gordon, Ed. D.

The problem of access to higher education for students who, because of social background, economic status, or ethnic caste, do not fit into the traditional, predominantly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant college population is not a concern first born in the nineteen sixties, though it was definitely popularized in that decade of heightened social concern. However, for over a century before that time, scattered efforts had been made to provide higher education for various minority groups in the United States. Concerned churchmen established colleges to aid in the advancement and assimilation of Catholic immigrants, especially the Irish. Jewish institutions helped to perpetuate the Jewish tradition of veneration for intellectual endeavor. Even before 1860, some few blacks were being educated in special institutions, though none of these began granting degrees until after the Civil War. During Reconstruction, the movement to provide higher education for black students grew as a result of the efforts of the Freedman's Bureau and of the religious missionary groups. At the height of this development, there were almost two hundred colleges founded to educate freed slaves, although only about half this number survived by the turn of the century. Many of these, too, like many other small colleges of the time, were offering little more than secondary education and technical skills training in this period before the public secondary school became generally available.

As a result of the circumstances of their founding, as well as a reflection of hard social realities, these schools were oriented primarily toward producing educational and religious missionaries to the black population (in the case of schools established by religious groups) or teachers for black schools, in a political-economic situation in which college-educated blacks could obtain few, if any, other professional positions.

After 1890, more public institutions for blacks began to be established as some states began to use Land Grant College funds to build separate state schools for black students. The state legislatures, however, were hardly enthusiastic in their allocations of funds or in the establishment of programs at such schools. They became, like the private black colleges of that period, largely teacher-training institutions and technical training centers.

This narrowness of focus, along with other characteristics commonly noted, has led to much harsh criticism of these schools. This viewpoint is represented by the Jencks and Riesman article on "The American Negro College" (1967). Among the shortcomings they discuss are the damaging effects of white control of many of these schools, including segregated facilities for black and white faculty, as well as patronizing attitudes toward students and their communities. The authors also discuss the extreme conservatism supposedly often found among black faculty and administrators, who were especially vulnerable to hostile reaction from white trustees or the surrounding white community, since their professional opportunities outside of the college were scarce. These same faculty members are accused of excessive promotion and admiration of white, middle class culture and values to the point of contempt for black life styles and background —again, often a manifestation of the practical job insecurity of college staff; the schools are accused of maintaining an almost hypocritical Puritanism born partly of the concern for producing students who could "fit in" at higher levels of white society and partly, again, of the desire not to antagonize the white community and founders who made possible or tolerated the school's existence. Some schools, Jencks and Riesman assert, display a contempt for students which has led to extreme punitiveness, a petty sort of tyranny which has been handed down to those students who go on to become teachers themselves.

It should be noted that reaction to this critical appraisal was vigorous. A subsequent issue of the *Harvard Educational Review* (Wright, et al., 1967) published responses by prominent black educators which not only pointed out factual errors in the Jencks and Riesman piece but also criticized it for its unsubstantiated, subjective, impressionistic viewpoint and pointed out that the article could lead to a stereotyping of black higher education institutions as damaging as the past stereotyping of blacks themselves. Several of the authors noted the valuable contributions made by black colleges against tremendous odds, citing especially the critical lack of funds. Most of the criticisms made by Jencks and Riesman, the authors of the reply point out, could just as legitimately be made of many white institutions.

Nevertheless, other studies have focused on the characteristics of these particular institutions, and in many cases offer constructive suggestions for improvement of higher education resources for black youth. Among the more critical and pessimistic reports is that of Jaffe, et al. (1968) which includes a system of rating the black institutions studied on a good–fair–poor basis, as determined by a group of six anonymous "experts" in the field. The authors conclude that the majority of the institutions fall into the "poor" category, and also note that these schools seem to be the ones which are increasing their enrollments. While conceding that most of the schools considered do seem to be concerned with improving their quality, de-emphasizing teaching training, recruiting new types of students–including whites and students from geographically distant locations–and developing more effective ways of dealing with educationally deprived students, the report recommends that no greater amounts of aid be given to those colleges rated "poor" or even to most of those rated "fair", since the probable improvement does not seem worth the investment, in the view of the authors. They indicate their faith in a broadened system of public, two-year colleges as a more effective answer to the educational problems of black and other disadvantaged students.

Such studies as those of McGrath (1965) and Crossland (1971) also concede the historical weaknesses of these colleges, but conclude that with the proper amounts of financial assistance and some improvements in curriculum, services, and educational focus, they can be made into more effective educational institutions. Both reports cite the need for a greater degree of long-range planning, inter-institutional cooperation, and perhaps even merger of some institutions. In a special report prepared by its Commission on Higher Educational Opportunity in the South, the Southern Regional Education Board in 1967 called for the establishment of a central organization for the purpose of studying and proposing long-range solutions for the problems of higher education for Southern black students. Educators such as Zinn (1966) and the LeMelles (1969) take a far more positive position in their evaluations of the black colleges as they now exist, though admitting that many such schools do share the weaknesses pointed out in other studies. Their expressed hope is that, by appropriate recognition and substantial aid, the schools may vastly enlarge their potential as unique institutions for dealing with the special traditions, benefits, problems, and future prospects for blacks and other Third World peoples in American and world society.

Some of the common criticisms of predominantly black colleges suggest that the critics think that the only function of the college is to transmit knowledge and foster high level intellectual and cultural development. A close look at the history and condition of higher education in the United States reveals that colleges serve other purposes. True, the enhancement of intellectuality and professional training are among the more prominent formal functions, but credentialling, technical training, social intercourse, politicalization, and consciousness raising are very prominent informal functions. If credit were given for the extent to which the black colleges achieve these purposes, some of the very negative estimates would have to be revised. If the black colleges did not exist, who would teach black elementary and secondary school children, who would serve the black church, how many physicians and dentists and lawyers would be available to serve the black communities? From what source would we have come by the current crop of black leadership in almost every field of endeavor? The program of substantial financial aid to ten of these black institutions recently announced by the Ford Foundation shows a recognition of these and other contributions, and of the need for their continuation and strengthening, and may provide an increased opportunity for realizing the special potential of these institutions.

The prospects for integrated education for black college students were improved somewhat during the 1930's and 1940's as many black teachers, motivated partly by racially imposed salary differentials, went on to graduate work to obtain more salary credits, and began to increase the group of black teachers with postgraduate training. Some of these people were attracted to the faculties of black colleges, where they provided new blood and, in some cases, new intellectual stimulation. In addition, the period saw a rise in concern for civil rights, and this concern provided a livelier atmosphere on the campuses.

In the late 1940's, the establishment of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students opened the door to new educational opportunities, at least for academically talented black students. Through the activities of NSSFNS, more prestigious colleges and universities began searching for academically successful black youngsters and helping them to gain admittance to, and an education from, predominantly white schools which they might not otherwise have considered accessible. NSSFNS also joined with other educational groups, including the College Entrance Examination Board, in programs designed to raise the educational aspirations of black youngsters. One result of this concern was the Demonstration Guidance Program, later the Higher Horizons Program in New York City schools, which combined elements such as "cultural enrichment" activities and special guidance beginning as early as third grade. The Demonstration Guidence Program showed marked effectiveness in reducing the dropout rate and increasing the number of college-bound students. Its expanded successor did not fare as well, in part because of poor quality control in the program and in part because it was by no means the complete answer to the problem.

At the same time as more black undergraduates were being admitted to traditionally white colleges, some persistent Southern black college graduates were being provided with graduate education in Northern universities at the expense of their home states, as a result of those states' unwillingness to admit black students to their own universities. The common tactic was to provide tuition grants for the student to take to other universities, usually in the North, whose admissions policies were not racially exclusive. Many of these students received degrees from Teachers College at Columbia, the School of Education at New York University, and some Midwestern state universities, and these schools made special efforts to accommodate the influx of black students from the South, including sending faculty and staff to southern cities to conduct courses there. Lest these arrangements be misunderstood as entirely gratuitous, the tuition fees from these exiled students were by no means unwelcome at these and other institutions. Some of the growth and national influence of these universities is directly related to the heavy representation of Southern black students and the segregationist subsidies they brought with them. At length, however, this sort of practice had to yield to increasing pressure, and more black state schools, including so-called graduate and professional schools of highly dubious quality, were established. Even this move only delayed the inevitable, for finally, in 1950, the Supreme Court declared segregated graduate and professional schools illegal, and after the 1954 Brown decision the legal basis for separate public education was, on paper, destroyed.

The Russians were responsible for the next major landmark in the democratization of American education, for their launching of the first space satellite, Sputnik I, in 1957, stirred up national concern for improving the educational system. The National Defense Education Act made available vastly increased amounts of government money to enable schools to admit talented students and help them finance their education. Minority groups, including blacks, were viewed as good sources of such untapped talent, and increasing numbers of them were encouraged to go to white institutions.

In his report on equal educational opportunity, Coleman (1966) reported that in 1965 there were 148 colleges throughout the country whose student populations were more than five percent, and less than fifty percent, black. This representation hardly signified equal opportunity, however. Coleman also found that approximately 4.6% of all college students at that time were black, with over half attending predominantly black institutions in the South and Southwest. His figures showed that there were 207,316 black college students in the country, while 4,232,000 white students were attending college. Other ethnic groups were represented by 51,855 college students. By 1967, Jencks and Riesman estimated that approximately half of all black undergraduates were enrolled in schools other than the traditionally black colleges. In a recent Ford Foundation report, Crossland (1971) estimates that, in the fall of 1970, there were some 470,000 black students enrolled in some form of higher education, and that perhaps two-thirds of them were in predominantly white schools.

It seems then that some progress is being made in broadening access to college for minority groups, at least for blacks. However, as promises are made and expectations rise, colleges and universities find themselves faced with a growing problem of providing access for these increasing numbers of students from non-traditional backgrounds, and in many cases of somehow compensating for academic differences and deficiencies which second-class status and second-class education have produced.

It is difficult at the present time to determine and accurately predict the magnitude of the new population to be served or of the problems which they and the institutions will create for each other. Although there are more black students in higher education now than in previous years, these estimates are misleading for several reasons. Crossland (1971) notes that if minority group youth were to receive representation in higher education proportional to that of the white population, the enrollment of minority group students would have to be more than doubled. In addition, it is true that many of these students are in newly created community colleges which are rapidly becoming extensions of the public school, a trend which may be postponing by two years the ultimate problem of access. When minority enrollment in community colleges is subtracted from the total of such students in higher education, the proportion of minority group students in predominantly white colleges is greatly reduced. When minority group representation in the traditionally prestigious white colleges is examined, none can claim exemplary achievement.

Although population growth projections indicate a decline in the size of the age catchments from which college students will be drawn, it is not clear that this decline will be reflected in reduced numbers of students seeking higher education or reduced numbers of minority group students. Many college administrators feel that the number of candidates will continue to increase. It is entirely possible that with more privileged students finding other avenues for self-development and expression outside formal higher education, and disadvantaged students more and more insisting on the democratization of the baccalaureate credential, we may see marked shifts in the proportions of these subpopulations represented in collegiate student bodies. Even now in some segments of youth culture, higher status is attributed to free education, self-determined and informally derived, than to the formal education mediated or coerced through the university. In any event, it seems clear that added to a great number of other problems, institutions of higher education will be increasingly called upon to adapt their capabilities to the service of a far wider variety of students than in the past.

Once an institution has made a commitment to respond in some way to the pressure for democratization of higher education, whether it be a pioneering, large-scale, radically imaginative effort or the barest minimum of tokenism to take the pressure off, the first problem to be encountered is that of getting these new kinds of students into the school. As a result of this problem, various modifications in traditional admissions practices have been tried by many institutions. The first attempt was the search among minority groups to recruit those young people whose skin color or social status might make them different from the school's traditional student body, but whose academic talent made them able to compete on a nearly equal basis with other incoming students. This sort of approach, as we have noted, was pioneered by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

For many reasons, however, this sort of talent search failed to produce large enough numbers of exceptional students who were able to measure up to traditional admissions standards. Some schools began to experiment with modified requirements, often giving more weight to personal interviews or to recommendations of teacher or counselor than to pre-college test scores or grade point averages.

The assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968, followed by the outpourings of rage from black communities all over the country, forced the leaders of various institutions in the society to show some effort toward becoming more responsive to the rights of the oppressed, and many institutions felt compelled to expand these experimental efforts into more visible commitments. As expectations and demands for equality rose among disadvantaged groups, many youths seeking access to higher education became dissatisfied with these methods, which depended so heavily on the whim and good will of a few individuals in power in the institutions. One result was increased pressure on some public institutions for open admission. Other schools responded to the growing dissatisfaction by instituting expanded programs for disadvantaged or minority group students, incorporating post-admission features to facilitate academic success for the students involved. However, the concept of higher education as something other than the elitist, meritocratic privilege it had long been considered was growing rapidly. Even though limited in the resources they have been willing or able to allocate to the effort, few of the four-year colleges and universities have failed to revise their admissions procedures to include a broader range of students. In addition, the establishment of many new, more universally accessible community colleges all over the country suggests that soon at least two years of college work may be added to what is conceived of as public education.

This change in the composition of the typical college student body implies many problems, and calls for many changes in traditional college teaching and learning styles, as well as more general changes in collegiate life styles. Some educators have pointed out that the source of the problems and disparities which are being encountered lies not in the colleges, but in the pre-college education which disadvantaged children receive. The problem is very clearly illustrated by the range of Scholastic Aptitude scores produced by the graduates of the national secondary education system who are admitted to college; they range all the way from the middle 200's into the high 700's. Although Astin (1969) has found low-level correlations between these scores and success in completing work for the baccalaureate degree, if these scores are in any way a reflection of the success of United States elementary and secondary schools in the academic preparation of their students, it is a condemnation that many of their students function at seriously deficient levels. When one adds the fact that it is only students completing academic high schools or academic programs in high school who take the SAT, the magnitude of this problem is shown to be even greater, since few of the vocational, technical, or non-academic high schools make any claim to preparation in general education.

When we turn to a concern for disadvantaged populations and the current effort at universalizing access so as to include these students, we have as an additional problem the fact that many students from low-income and minority group populations are diverted from the academic stream as early as third or fourth grades by archaic tracking procedures. Involved in the task of making higher education available to these students at the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth grade level is not just a problem of inefficient and inferior academic preparation, but, in some cases, the fact that many haven't even *had* academic preparation. In trying to make college attendance a meaningful opportunity for many of these students, one is almost forced to offer a second course of elementary and secondary education in order to bring them to a level where they are ready for the college experience.

In addition to the widely varying levels of student achievement and quality of prior school experience, there is the relatively ignored problem of wide variation in characteristics of students to be served. Despite the long tradition of concern with individual differences, the elementary schools, high schools, and certainly the colleges, have done little to accommodate the design of learning experiences to variations in cognitive style, temperamental traits, categories of interest, or cultural background. In the absence of this kind of practice, students at the young adult level may be hampered by a well justified lack of interest in learning, or, even worse, may be so threatened by previous patterns of failure that it is extremely difficult for them to continue. This problem, of course, is by no means limited to poor and minority group students, but afflicts many young people from all levels of society throughout the educational system. Certainly the poverty of American public education is being exposed from a number of different directions currently, and the recent Carnegie study (Silberman, 1970) has noted still a further source of failure in the affective area, pointing out a joyless, stifling atmosphere which prevails in many classrooms and which, by destroying the pleasure of learning, surely contributes to the depressing record of academic failure.

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ERIC-IRCD BULLETIN
Edmund W. Gordon—Editor

Teachers College
Columbia University
525 West 120th Street
New York, New York 10027

Volume VIII, No. 1

☆U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1971-715-202/53-72 REG. 2111